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OR

A NEGLECTED CHAPTER

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CHURCH HISTORY.

A LECTURE

BY

JOHN S. ROWNTREE.

LONDON:
F. BICKS, [illegible], 11 BISHOPSGATE-ST. WITHOUT, E.C.
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MICAH'S MOTHER:

OR,

A Neglected Chapter in Church History.

THE strange stories which occupy the closing chapters of the Book of Judges, "when every man did that which was right in his own eyes," seem very far removed from any connection with the tranquil monthly and quarterly meetings of Women Friends. It is a singular fact, however, that the service and authority of these meetings were fiercely discussed in the last years of Charles II. in connection with the merits, or the failings of Micah's Mother.

Amongst the many books and epistles of George Fox, was one published in 1676, entitled, "This is an encouragement to all the Women's Meetings in the world," in which the author marshalled the worthy women of Scripture, in support of his contention on behalf of the then recently established women's meetings amongst the Friends. "And was not Micah's Mother," he asks, "a virtuous woman? Read Judges xvii., and see what she said to her son." William Rogers, of whom we will speak presently, accepted the challenge, and affirmed that the lady in question was an idolater and a curser, and by no means an estimable character. This position he maintained with much iteration in his book, "The Christian Quaker, distinguished from the Apostate and Innovator."[1] Rogers began to deal with

[1] The full title was:—"The Christian-Quaker, distinguished from the Apostate and Innovator, in five parts. Wherein, Religious differences amongst the people termed in derision Quakers, are treated on. George Fox, one (at least, if not the chief) reputed author thereof, is detected. Doctrines of Truth owned by the Children of Light, (and cleared from objections) are laid down, according to Holy Scriptures, and revelation of the Spirit. By William Rogers, on behalf of himself and other Friends in Truth concerned."

Micah's Mother at page 62, returned to the charge at page 65, and resumed the discussion in nine other places, so that, as Thomas Ellwood puts it, eleven times over he pleased himself with railing at Micah's Mother.

In 1682, Thomas Ellwood—Milton's friend—published "An antidote against the infection of William Rogers' book";[1] a closely printed treatise of 234 pages, five or six of which are devoted to the vindication of Micah's Mother. Ellwood argues that though she cursed, her curse was "grave and solemn," not "wicked and profane," also that the results of the curse were good, as it led her son to confess his fault, and restore the money he had misappropriated. Learned writers on Scripture, Tremellius and Junius, are appealed to in support of this view. Ellwood further points out that the curse was quickly followed by a blessing. As regards idolatry, he argues that this woman, whilst not wholly exempt from the common evil of her age and nation, did evidently retain considerable devotion to God, and zeal for his service, though she erred in her manner of performing it. Ruth, Gideon, Rachel, Rahab and others who enjoy scriptural commendation are adduced as pertinent illustrations of the too frequent blending of evil with good in the same characters.

When Ellwood has finished with Micah's Mother, he devotes a couple of pages to the Woman of Tekoah. George Fox had also brought her forward in support of the Women's Meetings. "What an excellent sermon," said he, "did she preach to King David." Rogers had rejoined that she was a "subtle woman," whom Joab induced to go to King David with a lying story in her mouth. Rogers harps upon the words "lying story," whilst Ellwood retorts that scripture did not call her a subtle woman, but a wise woman; further, that scripture did not say she went

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Before closing Ellwood's "Antidote," I may refer for a moment to page 201, where a different subject is handled. Rogers had railed against George Fox, for "the lowness of his parentage and the meanness of his trade." Ellwood admits that George Fox was at one time a shoemaker, though his father was "an honest husbandman," whilst Rogers' father was a smith, and then gravely submits that "it is more reputable to make shoes for men than shoes for horses." Therefore, Rogers' charge was futile. From subsequent pages it appears that Fox had been criticised for not working with his hands, for travelling with a man servant, and for receiving extravagant entertainment at the houses of some of his friends. Each of these charges is conclusively disposed of by Ellwood. The biographical touches which come out in this chapter are very interesting, but I will not occupy your time with them. The value of the whole discussion to us is largely this—that it shows the great earnestness of controversial writers, and presumably of readers also, two centuries ago. I hope to be able to show why these writers were so in earnest.

George Fox was subjected to persistent and embittered personal attacks from former friends, during the last twenty or thirty years of his life, which were replied to with generous indignation by William Penn, Thomas Ellwood, George Whitehead, and others. There were however at issue behind

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Fox and his colleagues sustained in the progress of their work. It is to this opposition that we will now direct our attention.

Within seven years from the beginning of George Fox's ministry, some of his friends began to compare his influence to that of the Pope. Gospel Ministry was criticised, even the powerful preaching of Francis Howgill. Some of his fellow ministers were compared to Lord Bishops. George Fox was censured for arranging for the distribution of the ministry, and for allowing pulpits,—presumably ministers' galleries,—in the Meeting Houses. It is reassuring, when similar charges are made now, to remember how venerable is their ancestry.

About ten years later, John Perrot, who though apparently somewhat crazy, must have been a man of some influence, headed a party in opposition to George Fox's directions, that in public prayer the speaker should uncover his head, and the congregation should stand or kneel. Perrot argued that men should not uncover their heads unless they had a "motion" to do so at the time, also that they might rightly have motions to take off their shoes rather than their hats, and fall upon their faces. Thomas Ellwood was one who at the first was carried away by the appearance of spirituality there was in this teaching. He was not long before he saw reason to change his mind, and made a public acknowledgment that he had been in error. Perrot emigrated to America and ultimately died a persecutor. The dissemination of his views desolated the congregations of Friends in Virginia and Barbadoes.

In a number of the early London Meeting books are regulations—19 in number—sometimes called George Fox's canons, supposed to have been framed about 1668. The seventh runs as follows:—"And all such as wears their hats when Friends prays, and are gotten into the old rotten principle of the Ranters, who set up the wearing thereof in opposition to the power of God, and therein upholds it which is condemned by it and the power of God is gone over it, and them who are ranted from the truth,

and have stopped many who were coming into it, (that the very world can say you are in confusion and divided, and gone from your first principle, who said you were of one heart, and one mind, and one soul); and, therefore, that spirit must be cut off by the sword of the Spirit of the Lord, that they may come to that which did at first convince them; and notice must be given to the General Meeting of all these things, and from thence some must be ordered to go to exhort them that be in such things to come to the first principle that did at first convince them, that they may come over such things, and Friends must stand up in the noble seed of God to judge the world and all the fallen angels."[1]

It was early in the reign of Charles II., that William Salt, a sympathiser with John Perrot, issued a pamphlet[2] in opposition to the vigorous evangelistic activity of the first band of preachers. This was based on the plea of high spirituality. The same doctrine was made to do duty in support of a less active assertion of the right of public worship, in view of the suffering which that assertion entailed. Indeed, the duty of public worship as a regular habit was impugned. Friends were only to go to meetings, it was said, "when they felt the stirrings of life, both with respect to time and place." A few years later Stephen Crisp wrote an epistle to Friends, "Against such as cry out against the form of Godliness as against meeting at set times, on First days." In this letter, which is written in a very loving strain, the writer says, "Lend not your ears, I beseech you, unto that in any, or in yourselves that would, under pretence of formality in times and places, draw you aside from the good and blessed testimony of assembling yourselves together, to

[1] London Friends' Meetings. Beck and Ball, p. 49.

[2] "Some breathings of life from a naked heart, presented in love to the honest, upright and single-hearted, that they, with me may wait to feel the immediate drawings and leadings of the Holy Spirit in all things; or come to know that state which the Apostle speaks of, to have the anointing to teach them all things, or of all things that cometh from Christ, God's Anointed, so that they need not any man to teach them. 1 Joh. ii. 27." 1663.

wait upon your God." Stephen Crisp,—a wise and able minister,—also tells us how he had to struggle against the same spirit amongst Friends in Holland. "I laboured greatly," he says, "to inform the minds of Friends of the depths of that ranting spirit, and whither it would lead, and where it would centre; having had long experience of it here in England."[1]

In 1673, a curious pamphlet entitled "The Spirit of the Hat; or the government of the Quakers among themselves, as it hath been exercised of late years by George Fox, and other leading men in their Monday, or second-day's meeting," shows that the controversy started by Perrot respecting the usages in public prayer was not entirely ended. George Fox's directions in respect to those usages, are treated as having been the beginning of a formal worship. The writer proceeds to argue for the independence of each congregation. This was in opposition to the policy of welding the society together through the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. William Penn replied in a powerful rejoinder entitled "The Spirit of Alexander the Coppersmith lately revived."[2]

Some of the dissentient Friends carried their opposition to common usages, to the extent of declining regularly to shake hands with their acquaintances, lest thereby they should sanction a formal habit. George Fox found it needful to encourage all cordially to shake hands with one another.[3] The incident is very curious, and suggestively illustrates the repeated apostolic exhortation "to greet with an holy kiss." 1 Thess. v. 26; 1 Peter v. 14, &c.

The lawfulness or unlawfulness of congregational singing, was another item in frequent debate amongst the Friends of the 17th century. Some of the dissentients objected to

[1] Memoirs of Stephen Crisp, by Samuel Tuke, p. 153.

[2] See also his "Judas and the Jews," and George Whitehead's "The Apostate Incendiary rebuked," 1673.

William Mucklow who was part author of "the Spirit of the hat" was afterwards reconciled to his brethren. He died 1713, aged 82.

[3] Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth, p. 440.

singing *in toto*. The attitude of Fox, Barclay, and the main body of the Society, was that it stood on the same footing as vocal ministry, and vocal prayer in meetings for worship —not forbidden, but not pre-arranged for. As early as 1653, George Fox wrote to Robert Ariss, "Why should not they that sing have liberty of conscience to sing in your meetings? I do look upon thee as a competent judge whether they sing in grace or not." In the same year Fox tells us how his own singing in Carlisle Gaol drowned the noise of the fiddler whom the jailor had brought to annoy him. In 1662, the trustee of the Meeting House at Reading, who belonged to the Story and Wilkinson party, said that "singing or speaking singingly in prayer, preaching, or with a vocal voice *(sic)* was an abomination."[1] On the other hand, William Rogers says he was falsely accused of comparing the singing of Friends to "catterwouling" and "the belching of a calf." He says it was the faith of himself and his friends John Wilkinson and John Story that "as groanings, sighing, soundings and singings may proceed from deceitful spirits, so also we declare groanings, soundings and singings may be the fruit of the Spirit of the Lord amongst God's people."[2]

In one of the pamphlets against the party of J. S. and J. W. it was complained: "That they had disorderly and irreverently judged Friends' tender exercise in breaking forth in melodious singings and soundings to God's praise in their meetings, under the exercise of the power which breaks and fills the heart, out of the abundance whereof breaks forth sighs and groans, and spiritual songs, as the Lord is pleased to exercise them that waits upon him." But John Wilkinson affirmed—"Neither did I ever deny any singings, soundings, breathings that had their rise from the Spirit of God."

In Robert Barclay's "Truth cleared of calumnies," (1670), he says "that singing of Psalms is a part of God's worship, when performed in his will and by his spirit, and is warrantably performed amongst the saints, is a thing denied by no Quaker so-called, and it is not unusual among them. And

[1] Inner Life, &c., p. 462. [2] Christian Quaker, part iv., p. 39.

at times David's words may also be used as the Spirit leads thereunto, and as they suit the conditions of the party is acknowledged without dispute." [1]

The subject came definitely before the Yearly Meeting of 1675, which issued an epistle "concerning sighing, groaning, and singing in the church." "It hath been, and is, our living sense and constant testimony, according to our experience, of the divers operations of the Spirit and power of God in His church, that there has been, and is serious sighing, sensible groaning, and reverent singing, breathing forth a heavenly sound of joy, with grace, with the Spirit, and with the understanding," "which is not to be quenched or discouraged in any" "unless immoderate." [2]

Perhaps the most mischievous form which the Ranter spirit assumed, was in opposition to education, and in promoting a neglect of Scriptural and religious teaching of children. I propose to do little more than name the subject here, because I have no time to do justice to it, and also because it was handled in so masterly a way by Samuel Tuke in his "Five papers on the History of Education in the Society of Friends." The home education of children called forth some of George Fox's best epistles. His pamphlet to the women's meetings, which we mentioned at the opening of this lecture,[3] and which Rogers made such sport of, is really a very sensible production, the general drift of the argument being, that from the earliest times, women had had an important share in the service of the Church. In connexion with Eli's example in not restraining his sons, a passage on maternal influence, with its antique spelling, is interesting:—

[1] Barclay's Works, p. 30. [2] Inner Life, &c. 461.

Further particulars on this subject will be found in an accessible form in a pamphlet by a Friend, published at Darlington in 1883. "An inquiry into the lawfulness and expediency of Singing in Christian Worship."

[3] "This is an encouragement to all the Women's Meetings in the world who assemble themselves together in the fear of God for the service of the truth. Wherein they may see how holy men encouraged holy women both in the time of the law and in the time of the Gospel; though selfish and unholy men may seek to discourage them; But go on in the name and power of Christ and prosper."

" So many of you may admonish your children, but if ye do not restrain them with the Spirit of God, which God hath given to you, you will quench the Spirit of God in you, by indulging them; so that you will loose your spiritual offering, and your priesthood therein; and take heed if you do not loose your own lives, and your children's also; therefore mind old Ely for your example."[1]

The discontented elements in the Society drew together, under the leadership of John Story and John Wilkinson, as the Monthly Meetings became more firmly established throughout the country. These men had been colleagues of George Fox's in the ministry since 1654. They were subsequently joined by William Rogers of Bristol, a wealthy merchant, possessing considerable influence, and some learning. The dissatisfied party became powerful in Westmoreland and the West of England. The dissentients upheld the power of the congregation as against that of the association of Monthly and Quarterly Meetings. They exhibited great jealousy of the influence of the travelling ministers, objecting to their presence in the meetings for discipline. They showed an excessive dislike to the Women's Meetings, and most of all against the Women's Meetings having any share in the proceedings respecting marriages. They made a great point that George Fox and Margaret Fell did not present their intended marriage to the Women's Monthly Meeting at Bristol, although it existed at the time. The short answer to this was, that some grave disorders in connection with the Friends' Marriage procedure, disagreeable instances of which are given in the pamphlets of the time, had disclosed the necessity of safeguarding that procedure with additional precautions. It is not easy to convey to those who have not read the literature of this controversy an adequate idea of the antipathy exhibited against the Women's Meetings. Some of the men seem to have felt themselves degraded by any of their affairs being subject to the church meetings of the sisters. Their spirit was like that of John Knox when he inveighed against " the

[1] Page 23.

monstrous Regimen of Women." They found a novel interpretation and application of Isa. iii. 12, in the then state of the Society;—"As for my people, children are their oppressers and women rule over them."

The opposition to church authority assumed a variety of shapes in different localities. In York the congregation of Friends was rent in twain, from the offence given by a communication from the Quarterly Meeting, counselling deliberation and decorum in respect to second marriages. It is difficult to understand how so judicious an exhortation could have caused a schism.

Altogether, in the course of the Wilkinson and Story controversy, not fewer than one hundred pamphlets and tracts were issued from the press, a marvellous proof of the energy and zeal thrown into the discussion. Perhaps the ablest of these was Robert Barclay's work, with this long title page:—

"The Anarchy of the Ranters and other Libertines, the Hierarchy of the Romanists, and other Pretended Churches, equally Refused and Refuted in a Two-fold APOLOGY for the Church and People of God, called in Derision QUAKERS. Wherein, They are vindicated from those that accuse them of disorder and confusion on the one hand, and from such as calumniate them with Tyranny and Imposition on the other: shewing, that as the True and Pure Principles of the Gospel are restored by their testimony, so is also the ancient apostolick Order of the Church of Christ re-established among them, and settled upon its right basis and foundation."

In this work the principles of church association are laid down with the perspicuity and learning to be expected from the author of the Apology.

A sore point with the dissentient Friends, was their objection to the extent with which the Monthly Meetings entered into the details of individual life, deciding for instance, on differences amongst Friends, instead of allowing them to go to the Courts of Law. In this connection there is a very curious passage in the "Anarchy," in which Robert Barclay seems to have had a vision, hitherto

very imperfectly fulfilled, "of the world been eased from lawyers as well as priests," through the good offices of the Friends in their church meetings. He says, "As Truth and Righteousness prevails in the earth, by our faithful witnessing and keeping to it, the nations shall come to be eased and disburdened of that deceitful tribe of Lawyers, (as well as Priests,) who by their many tricks and endless intricacies have rendered justice in their method burdensome to honest men, and seek not so much to put an end, as to foment controversies and contentions, that they themselves might be still fed and upheld, and their trade kept up. Whereas by truth's propagation as many of these controversies will die by men's coming to be less contentious; so when any difference ariseth, the saints giving judgment without gift or reward, or running into the tricks and endless labyrinths of the lawyers, will soon compose them. And this is that we are persuaded, the Lord is bringing about in our day, though many do not, and will not see it. . . Even now are there thousands, that can set to their seal, that Christ hath now again the second time appeared. . . . . and he is restoring the golden age, and bringing them into the holy order and government of his own son, who is ruling and is to rule in the midst of them, setting forth the Counsellors as at the beginning, and Judges as at first; and establishing Truth, Mercy, Righteousness, and Judgment again in the earth: Amen, Hallelujah.[1]

The only further remark that time will permit me to make respecting this able treatise, is that whilst the author argues so strongly in favour of the authority of the disciplinary meetings of Friends, he is equally emphatic that their authority is moral and spiritual, and he draws a clear distinction between them, and the synods of churches which invoke the aid of the state to carry out their decrees. In spite of this disclaimer, Robert Barclay incurred much censure from the dissentients. They hinted that he might be a Papist in disguise. In fact they often called their

[1] Barclay's Works, p. 210.

opponents the Papistical party, and George Fox's epistles were compared to the bulls of Leo X.

Another member of the first band of preachers who afterwards put himself in opposition to Fox was John Harwood. One ground of his opposition was the arrangements made for the distribution of the ministry. There is reason for believing that from a very early date the north country preachers were considerably directed in their movements from Swarthmore Hall, and that they did not travel over England without plan or system. At any rate when there came to be many preachers in London, Bristol, and elsewhere, some arrangements were evidently necessary, so that, in George Fox's own words, "the ministers might not go in heaps" to one meeting and leave others unprovided for. Harwood,[1] in 1663, complains that the preachers were too much ordered about—"Thou must go to such a place," "Such a place is ordered for thee." He had been a prisoner in York Castle, but was now apparently a dissatisfied man. His paper is interesting as showing the early existence of some machinery for the suitable distribution of the ministry. As the Friends multiplied the arrangements were made more complete.

In the minutes of the London Morning or Ministers' Meeting, 17, iii., 1674, "It is desired that all Friends in and about the city that have a public testimony for God, do meet with the brethren on every First day and Second day mornings when they can. Otherwise, they are to send a note to the meetings they intend to be at on First days." The Monday morning meeting dealt with future arrangements, and the meeting again of the ministers on the Sunday morning at 8 o'clock, was to complete the plan. They then dispersed, the horses standing in readiness in the yard for those who visited the more distant meetings.

"The plan or arrangement books, for the 'orderly dispersion' of the Ministers for London and the environs, still exist from 1697, with the signatures of those Ministers who engaged to be present. Those also for Bristol and the

[1] Inner Life, &c., p. 382.

surrounding meetings still exist. It can be shown from these books, that the system was so complete, that two Ministers were thus provided for every meeting. These books show that, to every one of these meetings, morning and afternoon, Sunday and week days, a smaller number than two Ministers in prescribed attendance were seldom present, while every marriage and funeral was attended by one."[1]

Much more, however, than the distribution of the ministry was questioned. The very existence and service of the Christian ministry was impugned. If not entirely set aside, it was disparaged as a superfluous institution, for a people who had come to live under the teaching of God's Spirit. Reference has already been made to the indications of a tendency to disparage the ministry of Francis Howgill and his colleagues, so early as 1654. In the same year it is observable how clearly Richard Farnsworth wrote, in reference to the place of the Christian ministry. "He that is a Bishop, Pastor, or Teacher and is taught by the Spirit, who is not of man, but of God, and is blameless and doth contend for the faith, once delivered to the saints, who are not carnal but spiritual, and are governed by the Spirit of God," 'such do we own.'"[2] About the same time we have an account of John Pendarves, a Baptist minister, who asked of Friends, evidently with a desire for information, "Whether they considered instrumental teaching to be unsuitable to the new covenant"; and was replied to, "that the Friends did not deny 'instrumental' teaching, but 'traditional' teaching."

In 1666, there was so much opposition to ministers and to all church officers, that an epistle was issued from a number of Friends in London, "Against those who speak evil of dignitaries, and despise governments, and under the pretence of keeping down forms and man, decry the ministry and meetings."[3] In 1677, a somewhat similar letter was issued, signed by sixty-seven Friends, and dated from Ellis Hooks, his chamber in London. In fact, a continued line of senti-

[1] Inner Life, 384, See Beck and Ball's London Meetings, p. 339; Tanner's Lectures on Friends in Somersetshire, p. 95.

[2] Ibid, p. 434. [3] Ibid, p. 432.

ment more or less hostile to the ministry may be traced in the Society from the time of the Commonwealth to the death of George Fox.

In connection with this subject, William Penn's careful definition of terms is observable in his "Brief Examination and State of Liberty Spiritual."

Q. "What is Spiritual Liberty?

A. It is twofold; there is a true and false liberty, as a true and false Spirit, the right discerning of which concerns everyone's Eternal well-being.

Q. What is true Spiritual Liberty?

A. Deliverance from sin by the Perfect Law in the Heart. The Perfect Law of Liberty, [James 2,] otherwise called, The Law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus, that makes free from the Laws of Sin and Death; elsewhere stiled, The Law of Truth writ in the Heart, which makes free indeed, as saith Christ, if the Truth make you free, then you are free indeed. So that the Liberty of God's people stands in the Truth, and their communion in it, and in the Perfect Spiritual Law of Jesus Christ, which delivers and preserves them from every evil thing that doth or would embondage. In this blessed Liberty, it is not the will nor Wisdom of man, neither the vain affections and lusts that rule, or give law to the Soul; for the minds of all such as are made free by the Truth, are by the Truth conducted in doing and suffering through their Earthly Pilgrimage.

Q. What is False Liberty?

A. A departing from this blessed Spirit of Truth, and a Rebelling against this Perfect Law of Liberty in the Heart, and being at Liberty to do our own Wills; upon which cometh Reproof and Judgment."

In subsequent pages William Penn argues with much force, that true Spiritual Liberty will not be interfered with by the Friends' meetings for discipline, whilst the tender, yet emphatic, way in which he supports the Christian workers, whose services had been lightly esteemed, has lost none of its suggestiveness by the lapse of two centuries. "Beware, "says he "of that loose and irreverent spirit, which has no

those, in high esteem among you, that are faithful in the Lord's work, and that labour in his blessed word and doctrine. I plainly see a coldness and shortness in this hand; and be the pretence as it will, it is not pleasing to the Lord. They that love Christ, his servants are dear to them, and they bear a tender regard to their trials, travels, spendings, and sufferings, who seek not your's, but you, that you may all be "presented blameless at the coming of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ"; that so the gospel ministry and testimony may be held up with holy fervour, love, and godly esteem, to the keeping under every raw and exalted mind, and whatever may slight and turn against it, lest God, that has richly visited us with his Fatherly visitations, and Day-springing from on high, should remove his blessing from amongst us, and place his candlestick amongst other people." [1]

It was now that William Rogers took the field with his book, from which we have already quoted. The third part of "the Christian Quaker" exhibits in a pointed way the divergence between the position of the writer and that of Fox, Barclay and Penn. The author contends that he manifests how "there is (*sic*) but two forms of government owned by the Children of Light; i. The outward government under which we live, unto the laws whereof we owe either active or passive obedience, &c. ii. The inward government of Christ who alone is Lord over the conscience, which is not represented by persons visible to carnal eyes invested with power from him to execute outward laws, prescriptions, orders, edicts, or decrees in an outward form of government visible as aforesaid."

A great part of the work is, however, occupied with small captious objections, and abuse of the author's opponents. Perhaps one of the most interesting features of the book is the evidence it affords of the means used for the sustentation of the ministry amongst Friends at this period. Rogers hints that the cost of contributions to the Society's stock exceeded the amount of tithes demanded of him

[1] William Penn's Works, p. 605.

by the Established Church before he was a Friend. After a while Rogers gave up prose and betook himself to rhyme, in which he enlarged further on this topic. We can only find room for one extract:

"Next Fox his preachers did abound in wrath,
'Gainst them, whilst standing for the ancient path,
Until at length, Fox and his preaching tribe,
Were scorned like hirelings, that lived in pride.
Why so?
When he had framed i' th' church a government,
Preachers, approved by man, beyond sea went,
Who when they wanted moneys to proceed,
The Church her cash then did supply their need
If they their motion freely did submit,
To the London church, and do as she thought fit.
The Spirit's motion in a home-bred swain
Without a City stamp, seemed but in vain.
And yet sometimes, 'gainst such as Fox had sent
The Church dared not to shew her discontent."[1]

The drift of Rogers' contention will be gathered from the passage read. He enlarges his complaint against the Friend preachers, alleging that they had left their employments and made a trade of preaching, and that the Society of Friends was practically doing the same for its ministers as the Church of England for its clergy.

Thomas Ellwood who had already refuted Rogers in prose and also in verbal conference, now crossed swords with him in rhyme, in his "Rogero Mastix," or a rod for William Rogers. The verse is better than Rogers', though hardly equal to that which might have been expected in Milton's friend. We subjoin Robert Barclay's summary of this rhyming controversy.

Thomas Ellwood wrote:—

"The blest Apostles sometimes others sent,
And sometimes sent by others, went.
How oft did Paul send Timothy and Titus,
Beloved Tychicus, Epaphroditus,
Onesimus, Erastus, and some others,
True Gospel preachers and beloved brothers?

[1] A second scourge for George Whitehead, an Apostate Quaker in a poem, 1684, p. 3.

"Canst thou imagine they who thus were sent,
On the mere motion of the Apostle went?
No. They no question in themselves did find
The same good motion stirring up their mind;
With what the good Apostle did advise
The Holy Ghost in them did harmonize."

"Outward teachers" were needed in the Church. The case of parish preachers was quite beside the mark, and the objections of the Society of Friends to them, depended on grounds entirely distinct. Ellwood contended, that while the Holy Spirit was the "inward teacher" of every Christian man,

"Yet do the Scriptures plainly too declare,
And Paul himself doth testimony bear,
That Christ, when He ascended up on high,
Gave teachers for the work o' th' ministry;
And gave those teachers gifts to fit them to
Th' work he had appointed them to do.
One of those teachers, too, in downright terms,
Th' Apostle Paul himself to be affirms,
By which we plainly see our gracious Lord
Did outward teachers to His Church afford."

Ellwood asserts:—

"That 'tis the Church's duty to supply
The needful wants of all her ministry."

The Apostle Paul asserted his right to a maintenance, and although he did not take it of the Corinthians,

"That what was lacking to him privately,
The Macedonian brethren did supply."

In reply to the cavil of Rogers respecting the supply of the needs of such preachers as were approved by the Church, and who had a motion of God's Spirit to go on mission service beyond the seas, Ellwood replies:—

"Truth must not be refused
Because it is by evil men abused,
And truth it is, too plain to be denyed,
Christ's Church should for Christ's Ministers provide!"

Ellwood ends his argument with Rogers by lines which have proved prophetic;—

> "Must Christ be so confined he may not send
> Any but such have estates to spend?
> God bless us from such doctrine and such teachers,
> As will admit of none but wealthy teachers!"[1]

The Wilkinson-Story controversy resulted in a schism of some magnitude. Separatist congregations were formed at Bristol, Reading, Calne and other places, which however, dwindled away. A very strong desire existed, within the Society, for the return of the dissentients, who on the whole were treated by their brethren with much tenderness—as may be seen in a printed letter of William Penn's of 1692. Some of the leaders, like Francis Bugg, allied themselves with other denominations, and became the bitterest assailants of Friends. After the death of George Fox, George Whitehead had the distinction of being the best abused man in the Society—as he was also one of its most trusted leaders. William Rogers lived to be an old man, and published parts 6, 7, and 8 of his book. He never ceased to illustrate Solomon's words—"A brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city." But the main body of the seceders returned to the Society. Their hostility to the discipline had failed—the system of church meetings was too strongly established to be overthrown—but the Ranting spirit still showed itself in its opposition to active aggressive evangelistic labour, and helped to bring over the Society that phase of quietism and luke-warmness, which led on to decrepitude and rapid decay.[2]

We have now travelled far from our starting point—the virtues and failings of Micah's Mother, and in so doing

[1] Inner Life, &c., p. 472.

[2] The Society retained not a little of its missionary zeal throughout the reign of Queen Anne. Under date 1711, Herbert S. Skeats, in his "History of Free Churches," says:—"Like George Fox, the preachers of the denomination travelled throughout the length and breadth of the land, and in such a sense, that the Quakers may be justly described as the founders of the first home missionary organization." (*p.* 264.)

have reviewed—very imperfectly—that long controversy of which this was a very subsidiary item. Sadness, has I suspect, been the prevailing impression awakened by my narrative in the minds of some who have followed it. The first generation of Friends exhibited such heroic fortitude, such Christ-like submission in the presence of suffering and of persecution, that it is startling to find them so divided, in respect both to the theory and practice of church association. Their conceptions of the Kingdom of Christ were so spiritual, that it is disappointing to see how much of human infirmity entered into their labours for the advancement of that kingdom. But so it has ever been in the history of the militant church. Heavenly grace there abides very near to human weakness. How prone men are to esteem the Apostolic age, as one in which the Christian church was constantly walking in the fear of God and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, free from the deformities which afterwards defaced her beauty. But this glamour vanishes when the significance of the Epistles to Galatia and Corinth is realised. There we see how imperfectly the disciples obeyed, or even understood the precepts of Christ, and how much of Gentile vice still existed in their midst. The reflections of Sewel the historian, and many others that might be quoted, show how the early Friends realised points of similarity between their experience and that of the primitive Church. They saw within their own body the counterparts of Diotrophes who loved to have the pre-eminence, and of Alexander the coppersmith. The opposition which attended George Fox had many points of affinity with that which dogged the steps of the Apostle Paul. From amongst the Ephesian bishops who stood before him at Troas, were corrupt men to arise who should draw away disciples after them. Thus the experience of the first Friends—under that name—was not novel in Christian life. And furthermore—as we ponder the lessons of their experience, many helpful and encouraging considerations present, before which sorrowful thoughts may perhaps give way to the glow of grateful thanksgiving.

Let me first name a minor point. The cruel sufferings of the first Friends must, one has been ready to think, have banished from their lives all the charm of fun and humour. This can hardly have been the case, at any rate as respects Thomas Ellwood. He was desperately in earnest, but he must have stopped to laugh now and again as he wrote on, obediently to the Solomonic counsel, "Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit."

Then again, if we are at all staggered at the appearance of these internal differences, in the hey-day of the Society's youth, we cannot but admire the ability with which the danger was met. The danger was indeed imminent—or all the men of light and leading would not have mingled in the strife of tongues and of pens. The extinction which overtook the societies of Seekers and Ranters, the desolation which did lay waste many congregations of Friends infected with their views, the speedy disappearance of the dissentient Friends, all indicate that the destruction of the Society would probably have ensued had their doctrines and practices prevailed.

There is one historical fact which comes out very clearly in the light of the narrative we have been considering. Robert Barclay, William Penn, George Whitehead, Stephen Crisp, Thomas Ellwood, each exhibit their characteristic powers, but the central figure throughout is that of George Fox. His opponents say so, his own lieutenants say so, the contemporary historians say so. His ecclesiastical statesmanship was prescient and well proportioned. He never allowed himself to be turned aside from the work he had in hand, by the defection of weak friends or the opposition of the ultra-spiritual. If visionary people wrote him letters, he endorsed them "whymsie," and went on his way. If scatter-brained converts ran amuck of good order and wholesome usages, he told them they had gone out into imaginations, and that he "judged them in the Lord's power." He never wavered in his advocacy of the place and authority of the Church meetings. He risked secession and separation rather than stop the settlement of the

monthly and quarterly meetings. But whilst he was fashioning them as a great centripetal force in the Society, he was at least as much alive to the necessity of guarding the centrifugal energy of aggressive evangelistic work, against the benumbing influences of wealth, ease and mysticism. George Fox often failed to clothe his thoughts in the suitable garments of speech — but underneath his rugged ungrammatical sentences, the thoughts of a ruler of men may be seen struggling for expression. It was not in stoical disregard of censure, and of the severing of religious and personal fellowship, that Fox laboured on for the last thirty years of his life, building up the framework of the Society. His touching epistles of expostulation with former friends, which I wish time permitted me to read, and the humble boldness with which he appealed to the example of his past life, recall the same traits in the Apostle of Tarsus. So working

"Ever in his great Task-master's eye,"

when the supreme moment came for this intrepid protester against sacerdotal assumption to pass to his last account, his dying words, "The seed reigns over all disorderly spirits" bore witness to the stress of that long conflict, whose history we have been tracing.

Some years ago I delivered two lectures before this Association,[1] afterwards published, on the character of George Fox in connection with the Macaulay charges. It was then shown how utterly inconsistent with facts was Macaulay's theory that Barclay and Penn were the real artificers of the Society's polity. The statesman-like manner in which Fox built up the disciplinary system, and the nobility with which he bore himself in the face of opposition from former friends, entirely discredited Lord Macaulay's portraiture. In recently reviewing the facts of this chapter in Fox's biography, in the light of some additional information, I am confirmed in the correctness of the views expressed thirty years ago.

[1] The York Friends' Biblical Library Association.

It has been interesting to find that the late Robert Barclay, who probably did more than any living man in examining the original authorities for these events, came by an entirely independent inquiry to the same conclusion. He says:—"Great efforts were made to discredit Fox's motives, charging him with ambition, and that his efforts for the establishment of a complete system of Church government were in order to increase his influence. Under these painful circumstances his religious character shone brighter and brighter to the last. While some of his eminent supporters used in the heat of controversy weapons of sarcasm which without injury to their cause might have been well spared, Fox, in his energetic labours for the restoration of peace and unity, used his influence with persons who had violated every sense of honour, with true Christian gentleness, and touchingly appealed to their better feelings in vindicating his motives."[1]

This department of the subject will be fitly closed by the following sentences written by William Penn:—"But as in the primitive times, some rose up against the blessed apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, even from among those that they had turned to the hope of the gospel, who became their greatest trouble; so this man of God had his share of suffering from some that were convinced by him, who through prejudice or mistake ran against him, as one that sought dominion over conscience; because he pressed by his presence or epistles, a ready and zealous compliance with such good and wholesome things as tended to an orderly conversation about the affairs of the church, and in their walking before men. That which contributed much to this ill work was, in some, a begrudging of this man the love and esteem he had, and deserved in the hearts of the people; and weakness in others, that were taken with their groundless suggestions of imposition and blind obedience."[2]

Returning now from the historical and personal aspects of the Ranter controversy, may I point out the changes

[1] Religious Societies of Commonwealth, p. 349.

[2] Introduction to George Fox's Journal.

two centuries have wrought in the manner of conducting such debates. In the main these changes have been for the better. Writers of the present day mostly recognise the claims of Christian courtesy far more than did their predecessors. With but little exception, Friends have desisted from hurling abusive epithets at one another as they did in the seventeenth century. Envy, falsehood, slander, errors, and false doctrines were amongst the milder epithets then bandied backwards and forward.

But if we have gained in this respect we have lost in some others. The Friend controversialists of the Stuart period have left an impressive example in respect to the thoroughness and earnestness with which they set forth that which they believed true. The present generation of Friends, living in an age of unceasing activity—physical and mental—and with so many other affairs occupying attention, seems as though it could hardly devote the time and concentration of thought required for the elucidation of questions which come up for consideration. In the pamphlets I have introduced to your notice, we have seen Thomas Ellwood following William Rogers from paragraph to paragraph, not disdaining to discuss with him questions almost irrelevant, like the character of Micah's Mother, or whether the making of shoes for men or for horses was the most honourable, if thus he could establish his contention in relation to the main issues at stake. It was because he realised the gravity of those issues, that he was willing to devote so much labour to the details of his subject. In the personal interview between Thomas Ellwood and William Rogers, with a company of Friends on both sides, which followed the Yearly Meeting of 1683, the discussion began at six o'clock in the morning, and continued till noon. When George Fox met a company of dissentient Friends at Drawell, near Sedberg, four days were devoted to patiently talking over the points in controversy. How different this from the railway speed with which Friends now hasten up to London to hold a Conference say of a day-and-a-half, and then hurry home again.

Again, in such works as Robert Barclay's "Anarchy of the Ranters," in William Penn's "Spiritual Liberty," and in many of George Fox's epistles, the deep underlying principles governing church association and church action are set forth with an ability and a copiousness of exposition, which the present generation knows very little of. With what care did William Penn define terms like "Spiritual Liberty." The necessity for such definition is urgent—for without it people are constantly led into contention through attaching different meanings to the same terms. As Lord Bacon said:—"Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms so fixed; as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning."

In reviewing the progress of the Ranter controversy during the forty years over which, in one shape or another, it extended, one is impressed with the number of points, formerly matters of debate, which have now been settled. They have completely passed out of the range of controversy, and former sources of division have entirely ceased to separate.

The necessity for the existence of a system of church government, and its compatibility with the enjoyment of spiritual teaching and guidance for the individual, are now practically admitted on all hands.

With respect to congregational worship, there is too much of indifference with us, as there has always been, but the idea that a regular attendance at meetings at a fixed time and place, shows less spiritual-mindedness than an intermittent attendance has almost, if not entirely died out.

There does not any longer exist an appreciable difference of opinion, respecting the observance of a stated order, in the proceedings of public worship. It is admitted with practical unanimity that such observances, as the general rising of the congregation, and the uncovering of the head during the time of public prayer, are more in accordance with the instincts of a spiritual religion, than are diversities of practice, with their liability to lapse into disorder.

No one is now found advocating an intermittent and spasmodic holding of church meetings as being less formal than their stated sessions. The jealousy of the Yearly Meeting, as likely to prove itself a Papal Council, has passed away.

The necessity of an orderly marriage procedure is universally admitted. The dangers connected therewith, have latterly been in exactly the opposite direction to those of the first generation of Friends. A strong party then imperilled the marriage procedure from their restiveness at the imposition of necessary regulations. Of recent times it has been imperilled, by being surrounded with so much of regulation as to make it unelastic, and cumbersome in operation.

The place and service of the Women's Meetings for Discipline, so bitterly assailed two centuries ago, are no longer matters of dispute. The utility of these meetings has been proved by the experience of seven generations, and the hostility they at first excited in the breasts of so many men has passed away. Any dangers connected with them now lie in the direction of the men's meetings being disposed to put too much of the church's service upon the sisters.

Most satisfactory also has been the change of sentiment in the Society in respect to the education of the young. The responsibilities of parental duty and the blessing of religious teaching in the home and in the school, require the support of the church from generation to generation, in view of the temptations to indifference and spiritual sloth. But there have not now been for some generations, any considerable number of Friends, who profess to see in the neglect of home training, of scriptural teaching, and of religious instruction, the best preparation for the work of the Holy Spirit on the minds of the young. No part of the Society's economy evokes so much of enthusiasm as do its public schools.

The problem of shaking hands has been completely solved. I know of no one who fears that he may be sanctioning an empty form by heartily shaking hands with his friends. The great majority are probably ignorant that such a fear, or shall we call it a fad ?—did once prevail.

Experience has, however, proved that in a few minor particulars, the dissentient Friends took a more correct view as to the functions of church meetings, than did their opponents. The interference of the disciplinary meetings with private conduct did, in some districts become excessive, leading to grotesque and most injurious results. The recent policy of the Society respecting the payment of ecclesiastical demands, and the censorship of the press, has also been in accordance with the policy advocated by the dissentient Friends two hundred years ago. Perhaps it may also be added that experience seems to have indicated that it is difficult to introduce congregational singing, except as an occasional thing, on the same lines as vocal ministry and vocal prayer, in the ordinary meetings of Friends.

In considering the group of solved questions just enumerated, I would draw attention to the fact that their solution came through action, and the logic of facts, rather than through academic discussion. Education may be taken as an illustration. George Fox, in appealing to parents, said that as a matter of fact many families of religious persons who neglected the training of their children, turned out worse than those of the openly irreligious. The inference was irresistible that this neglect was not the true note of a spiritual faith. The Yearly Meeting for 100 years kept insisting on the duty of education. Ackworth School at last was founded. Dr. Fothergill and his colleagues placed its Superintendence under a non-salaried officer. Not unnaturally was it thought, that the Superintendent's position was so responsible and essentially religious, that he should not be remunerated in money. After testing this theory through three Superintendents, facts indicated that the theory did not hold good here, and it was abandoned. No one now desires to have our Schools superintended by unsalaried officers. Again, Scriptural instruction was not at first directly inculcated at Ackworth. Experience indicated the existence of a great want; and slowly and with divers misgivings that want was supplied. It was found practicable so to teach Scripture truth that it should be the handmaid

of spiritual religion—though not religion itself. Now there is probably no feature of education to which the best mind of the Society is so sensitive as the scriptural and religious side.

But let us look a little more closely at this interesting group of solved ecclesiastical problems. May it not in the first place awaken grateful thoughts, that so many questions formerly debated not only with earnestness but with acrimony, should now hardly ruffle the susceptibilities of any one? Then too, it is observable that all the matters just enumerated are connected with the internal economy of the Society. This circumstance becomes additionally significant, when we note the existence of a smaller group of problems, which were the subjects of earnest debate two hundred years ago—and which remain so still. As the solved problems relate to the inner life of the Society, the unsolved ones are chiefly connected with its outside aggressive work. Nor is the reason of this phenomenon far to seek. At the close of the seventeenth century, the mind of the Society was determined not to be diverted from the establishment and development of its disciplinary system. Before this determination all opposition ultimately gave way. But the Society's missionary work at home and abroad was allowed to sink into abeyance. Hence the debatable questions connected therewith could be deferred for the decision of a future generation. When a revival set in about 1760, the zeal of John Griffiths and his colleagues still chiefly ran in the channels of internal organization, and when at a still later period the evangelical movement in other churches made its warmth felt amongst Friends, it shaped their undenominational philanthropic efforts, rather than any associated evangelistic work. It was not till the First-day schools, and particularly the expansion of the Adult School work had again brought Friends into close personal contact with the populations around them, that questions connected with the place, work, sustentation and distribution of the ministry, which had long slumbered, again assumed practical importance.

It is a significant and encouraging circumstance, that one of these slumbering questions, which assumed a somewhat threatening attitude twenty-five years ago has been quietly solved by the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, founded in 1867. We have seen how William Rogers and his allies were exercised both about the work and the expense of foreign missionary labour. They were but too successful in discouraging it. A quarter of a century ago, the preliminary educational work of George Richardson and others, in respect to foreign missions had accomplished its object, and the Society woke up to pay its debt of Christian love to the heathen in Madagascar and India. Very remarkable has been the success of this movement, especially in view of the comparatively recent time when Friends had no missionaries in heathen lands.

It is no matter of surprise that some unsettlement of thought should now be manifest amongst Friends in respect to the whole subject of the Christian ministry. Evidences of this have been apparent in recent discussions upon the Recording of Ministers, and upon the work, sustentation, and distribution of the ministry in connection with the labours of the Yearly Meetings' Home Mission Committee. Some of these items of debate are curiously identical with those of two hundred years ago. It may be doubted however whether there are now as many persons in the Society, who have probed these questions to their foundations, as they were then. The Ranter controversy did a great educational work for the first generation of Friends, of which there has been no counterpart in our time. Until the recent publication of Joseph John Dymond's book on the Ministry, a very long interval had elapsed since that subject had been discussed in print, to any considerable extent, from the standpoint of a Friend. I have elsewhere[1] pointed out how the signal success of Friends in influencing some of the great currents of national life, is tending to withdraw their thoughts and energies from the affairs of their own denomination.

[1] See "The Relations of Denominational to National Life." by J. S. R.

Those affairs two centuries ago, included a grappling with the fundamental principles in the constitution of a Christian Church, and notably with the functions, responsibilities, and claims of its officers and its disciplinary meetings. One of the objects of my lecture has been to show the service rendered by the ecclesiastical statesmanship of Fox, by the logic of Barclay, the definitions of Penn, and the humour of Ellwood, and to express the conviction that all these talents still have their place in the service of the church. It is a worthy aim to train men and women to serve their generation in the Parliamentary, Municipal, or Educational affairs of the nation, but inasmuch as the great house of the Christian commonwealth, requires many vessels for its service, is it not the mind of the Spirit that still not a few should chiefly devote themselves to the affairs of the household of faith?

It is certain that the life and progress of the church will from time to time present fresh problems for the solution of its members. In respect to these, whether such as are now before us, or those which may hereafter arise, past history shows the safety of bringing them to the early test of scripture and of facts. The elementary error of the Ranters was their disregard of the fact—attested by Scripture and experience—that God had appointed to man's agency a certain place in the economy of His grace. Their theory has much that recommends it, both to the reason and the feelings, but it is vitiated by the evidence that Christ has otherwise determined the laws of his Kingdom. It might be serviceable now if we could have a lucid restatement of the Scriptural teaching upon the institution, objects, and scope of the Christian ministry—using the term in a sense inclusive of a wide variety of spiritual gifts.

We have seen in the course of the present lecture, that helpful light is thrown upon the working out of elementary principles not only by the experience of the Christian Church as a whole, but by the limited experience of the Society of Friends in particular. We have also seen how important it is that terms employed in discussion should be clearly defined,

so that often quoted phrases may not cover and perpetuate misty and imperfectly considered ideas.

A single illustration will help to elucidate my meaning. A good deal has been latterly said about a "separated ministry," the relevancy of which chiefly depends on what you mean by the phrase. If you mean a guild of men separated from their fellows, as in the Roman Catholic priesthood by vows of celibacy and by the assumption of sacerdotal functions, you have an engine of priestcraft and spiritual despotism. But if you mean a body of men and women called to the ministry of the word by the Spirit of God as the chief object of their lives, you have an institution of the first moment to the Church's life, health, and work, preserved to it from age to age in the appointment and the love of its Lord. The power of the early Christian ministry was closely connected with individual conviction that an Apostle was "separated unto the Gospel of God,"[1] and with the perception of the church as at Antioch, that the Holy Ghost had bidden it "separate Barnabas and Saul" to a given work.[2] In this scriptural sense of the phrase a separated ministry might seem to be one of our most urgent wants at the present time. When the Society of Friends grasps the true magnitude and bearings of a line of policy, it can surmount many obstacles in carrying it to a successful issue. Notably has this been the case in respect to the Discipline, to Education, to Foreign Missions. We believe that in like manner, a mastery of first principles as to the very purposes of Christian association for advancing the Redeemer's Kingdom at home and abroad, and for which the Christian ministry is the chief instrumental agency, will help to solve in action these subsidiary questions of sustentation or distribution which may be formidable in theory but yield readily to the solvent of self-denying and persevering work.

Since the title of this paper was announced, I have heard from some attenders of the late Keswick Convention, of the impression made upon them there by an address on Micah's

[1] Romans i. 1. [2] Acts xiii 2.

Mother as an illustration of imperfect consecration. Insofar as the understanding is subordinate to the conscience, this lecture, introduced by a reference to the same individual, can only claim to occupy that lower plane. Yet I venture to think that no chapter in the Society's history is freighted for the reflective mind with a richer or more diversified teaching. As we have passed from point to point some of these lessons have been indicated, and others are too obvious to require insisting upon. I must have told my story very ill if it has not kindled in your memories—as it does in mine—a fresh sense of our indebtedness to the past—if it has not impressed you as being pregnant with suggestion in relation to the problems of the present—and as throwing too upon the horizon of the future, both the shadow of warning and the beam of trustful hope.

THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In the Seventeenth Century.

CHRONOLOGICAL MEMORANDA.

English Bible, authorised version	1611
Pilgrim Fathers	1620
"Ranters and Seekers" in England	1640-41
George Fox (born 1624) began his ministry	1647
Justice Bennet names George Fox and his friends Quakers	1650
George Fox in York Minster	1651
George Fox wrote an epistle on Marriage procedure	1653
Settlement of earliest meetings for discipline of Friends	1653
James Milner and Richard Myer "went out into imaginations"	1653
More than sixty ministers declaring the Truth ...	1654
Francis Howgill and other ministers criticised ...	1654
Fall of James Naylor	1656
Seldom fewer than 1,000 Friends in prison this year	1656
Epistle of George Fox re "Judging the Ministry" ...	1656
A Yearly Meeting held at Scalehouse, near Skipton. Collections to promote visits of Friends beyond the sea	1658
Yearly Meeting at John Crook's, Luton	1658
Martyrdom of Mary Dyer at Boston	1660
John Perrot and Charles Baily "turned aside from the Friends and Truth" (G. F.)	1661

Death of Edward Burrough 1662

Act of Uniformity, St. Bartholomew's Day 1662

Epistle of George Fox re John Perrot 1664

Conventicle Act passed 1664

Reconciliation of malcontent Friends 1666

Establishment of Monthly Meetings 1666-1667

Revised directions respecting Marriage procedure ... 1667

Milton's "Paradise Lost" 1667

Waltham and Shacklewell Schools established ... 1667

Robert Barclay joins the Friends 1667

Monthly Meetings "make a great reformation amongst people" (G. F.) 1668

William Penn joins the Friends 1668

William Penn's "No Cross, No Crown" 1669

Fourteen Monthly Meetings established in Yorkshire 1669

Marriage of George Fox to Margaret Fell 1669

Further regulations on Marriage procedure promulgated 1670

Conventicle Act renewed 1670

Trial of William Penn and William Mead 1670

George Fox visits the West Indies 1671

First Yearly Meeting in London 1672

George Fox visits Maryland 1672

Great opposition to settlement of Women's Meetings for Discipline... 1673

William Penn's "Alexander the Copper-smith" ... 1673

Robert Barclay's "Anarchy of the Ranters" ... 1674

Wilkinson and Story separation 1675

George Fox published his "Encouragement to all the Women's Meetings in the World" 1676

Continued opposition to establishment of Women's Meetings for Discipline 1676

Meeting at Drawell, near Sedbergh, lasting four days 1676

Yearly Meeting in London. "Very glorious meetings" 1677

George Fox visits Holland 1677

Spirit of Separation rife 1677

Opposition to Meetings for Discipline in Buckinghamshire 1677

Opposition to "Prescription" 1678

Publication of Robert Barclay's "Apology for the true Christian Divinity as held by the people called Quakers" 1678

Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" 1678

Conference with dissentient Friends at Hertford ... 1679

Publication of "Christian Quaker," &c., W. Rogers 1680

London Yearly Meeting. "A blessed opportunity" 1680

George Fox meets John Story at Hertford 1680

William Penn's "State of Liberty Spiritual" ... 1681

Philadelphia founded 1682

Thomas Ellwood's "Antidote to William Rogers" ... 1682

Great Persecution 1682

William Roger's "Scourge," and "Second Scourge for George Whitehead" (A Poem!) ... 1683-1684

George Fox visits Holland 1684

Release of many Friends from prison 1685

Thomas Ellwood's "Rogero Mastix" 1685

Toleration Act passed 1689

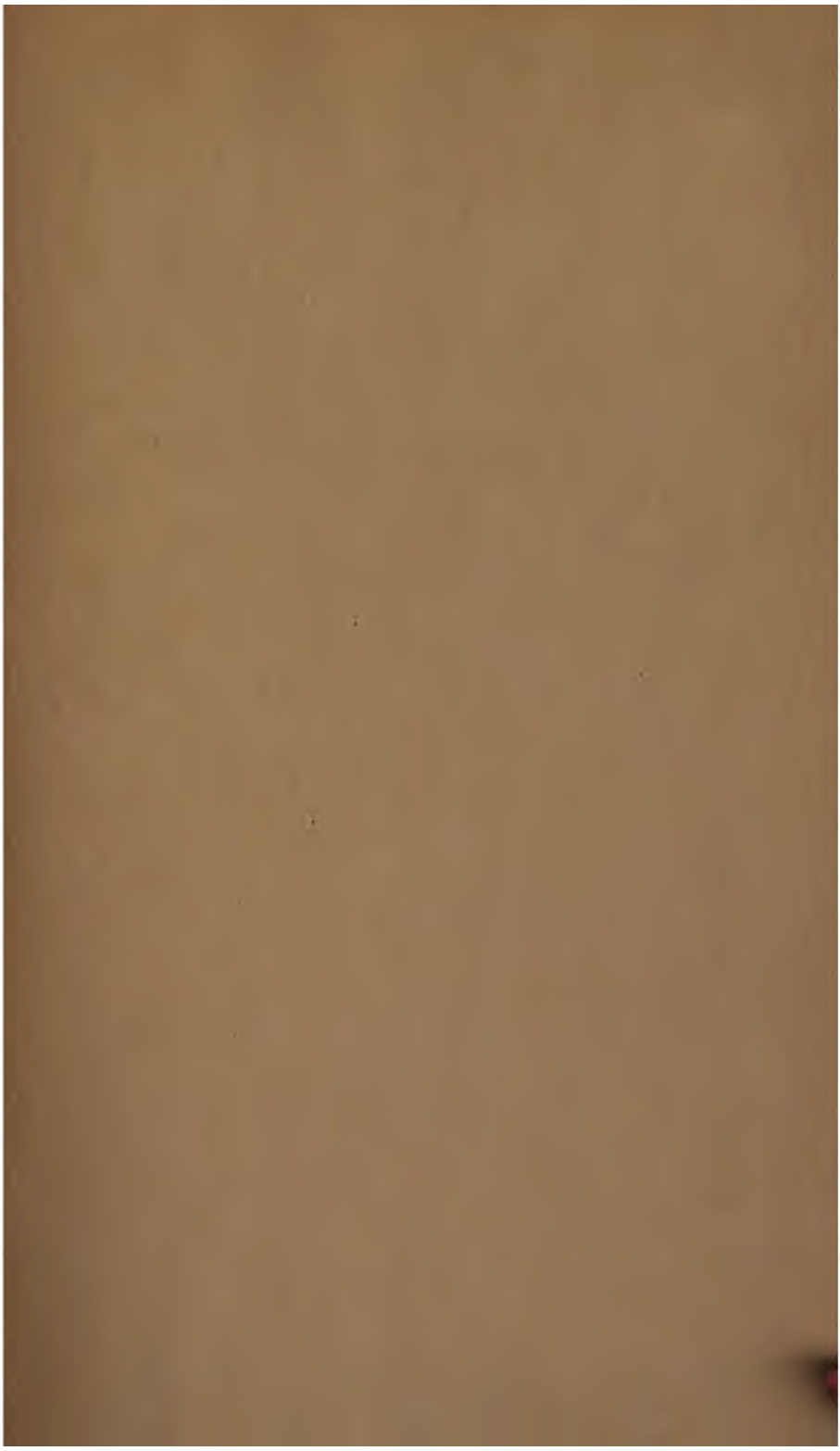
Death of George Fox, 13 xi. 1690

PERSECUTION.

In an address to the Bishops and Clergy issued from London, "30th of 1st mo., called March 1685, signed on behalf of our suffering friends," by Thomas Robertson, Richard Bland, John Bowater and William Ingram; it is stated that—

I.	Between the years 1660 and 1680, there had died in prison of the people called Quakers	243
II.	That then remained in prison (divers having been closely confined for several years) ...	276
III.	The number of those that had suffered imprisonment for attending their religious meetings and refusing to swear, (some of them having had a sentence of Præmunire passed on them)	9437
IV.	The number excommunicated and imprisoned for not conforming to the public worship ...	624
V.	Sentenced for banishment	198
	"And this instant year 1685, there were presented to King James II. the account of present prisoners	1460
	"With account of prisoners that died since 1680	78
	"The number of all the said sufferers come to hand"	12,316

These figures are irrespective of 3179 persons who suffered "Imprisonments, Stockings, Whippings, Loss of Goods and other abuses," and of 79 who died in prison of bad usage, "in the days of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, and in the commonwealth days."



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